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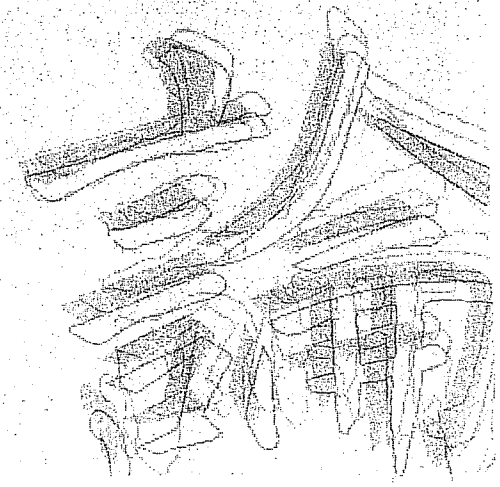

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Grounding Mobilities: Rethinking the Boundaries of Our World and Work

Noel B. Salazar

All things flow
Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 540-480 BCE)

Mobility, *n*: (1) the ability to move or to be moved; (2) ease or freedom of movement; and (3) the tendency to change easily or quickly. These are just some of the general descriptions one can find in the Oxford English Dictionary. As such, the notion of mobility nicely captures the now common impression that we live in a world that is in constant flux, with people, cultures, goods, money, businesses, diseases, media, images and ideas 'flowing' in every direction across the planet. Limiting our scope to transnational movements of people, we can identify many different types. The increased speed of transportation, new information and communication technologies, and the global control of infectious and other diseases have facilitated the circulation of a record number of people who are crossing international borders for work, leisure, safety and security.[1] Among these (increasingly overlapping) categories, tourists and labour migrants account for the largest groups travelling across the globe. The UN World Tourism Organization reports almost 900 million 'international arrivals' (people travelling using tourist visas) per year worldwide (UNWTO 2010). The International Organization for Migration estimates that there are more than 200 million migrants worldwide, of which an estimated 30 to 40 million unauthorized

[1] The focus of this chapter is mainly on mobilities related to the crossing of state borders. This is not to minimize the importance of internal or domestic mobilities and bordering practices (cf. Ford and Lyons 2006). Both Indonesia and Tanzania, for instance, have had contested state-controlled national migration programs, respectively called sponsored 'transmigration' (Hoey 2003) and forced 'villagization' (Scott 1998, 223-61).

(International Organization for Migration 2008). Even if one can rightly criticize the way in which these statistics are compiled (e.g. many migrants enter countries on a tourist visa), the figures are illustrative of the trends.

Despite the rapidly growing numbers of mobile people, border-crossing mobilities as a form of human experience are still the exception rather than the norm (United Nations Development Program 2009). However, there are alternative forms of being mobile. Apart from actual, bodily movement, people also travel metaphorically. Old and new information and communication technologies—from snail mail, fax, and fixed telephones to mobile telephone and the Internet—allow people to travel virtually and 'meet' other people and places, hereby transcending geographical and often social distance as well. Visual media such as television, photography, film and websites give people the opportunity for imaginative travel. Empowered by mass-mediated master narratives, imaginaries of mobility have become global. They are sent, circulated, transferred, received, accumulated, converted and stored around the world. Such historically laden fantasies are at the roots of many imagined (and potentially physical) travels to unknown destinations, be it in the context of tourism (Selwyn 1996) or migration (Pajo 2007). Studying imaginaries of mobility offers a novel way to grasp the ongoing transformations of globalization (Barrère and Martuccelli 2005; Hannam et al. 2006; Lindquist 2009). It is in acknowledging the role of the imagination in mobility that possibly one of the most exciting opportunities for an ethnography of global and transnational processes is located (Appadurai 1996; Wilding 2007).

Using ethnographic examples from multi-sited and multi-temporal fieldwork on mobility imaginaries in Indonesia and Tanzania, this chapter critically examines the analytical purchase of mobility as one of the dominant concept-metaphors in contemporary anthropological theorizing (Salazar 2010d). This concern with mobility, while necessary, has made some scholars lose sight of the continued importance of place-based practices and modes of consciousness for the (re)production of culture and society (de Bruijn et al. 2001). During my fieldwork, I gathered ample evidence that the lives and practices of Indonesians and Tanzanians are shaped by any number of imaginative as well as real links to 'Other' worlds near and far. Innumerable boundary crossings, physical or virtual, generate ever thickening webs of interconnectivity that increasingly crisscross and stitch together once separate societies and cultures while tying the life chances of each individual to those of countless others across the globe. These expanding interconnections have not only helped to detail a vision of the world at large, they have reciprocally promoted an awareness of Indonesia and Tanzania as nested within this transnational nexus of places. Being exposed

to media, goods and ideologies never before available, people are dreaming 'the signs and styles of a global order, while facing ever narrower means by which to satisfy them' (Weiss 2002, 8).

Imaginaries of (Im) Mobility on the Move

If we are always arriving and departing, it is also true that we are eternally anchored. One's destination is never a place but rather a new way of looking at things.
Henry Miller (1891–1980)

We live in imagined (but not imaginary) worlds, using our personal imaginings as well as collective imaginaries to attribute meaning to our lives and that of others. However, studying social imaginaries and the personal imagination is not an easy task because these notions are widely used but rarely properly defined or operationalized (Salazar 2010a). Scholars from a wide array of disciplines have given attention to the imagination and the existing literature is vast (e.g. Brann 1991).[1] The vernacular or unofficial imaginings people rely on, from the most spectacular fantasies to the most mundane reveries, are usually not expressed in theoretical terms but in images, stories and myths (long-standing objects of anthropological inquiry). They may take a variety of forms—oral, written, pictorial, symbolic or graphic—and include both linguistic and non-linguistic ways of producing meaning. Imaginaries are shared unspoken assemblages of interpretation, rather than explicit ideologies. As sets of meanings, values and institutions held in common and constituting the world views of particular communities or societies, they are never natural but always socially produced and controlled (cf. Silvey 2007). As representational systems, imaginaries are complex systems of presumption—patterns of forgetfulness and attentiveness—that enter subjective experience as the expectation that things will make sense generally (i.e., in terms not wholly idiosyncratic). Gaonkar defines them as 'first-person subjectivities that build upon implicit understandings that underlie and make possible common practices' (2002, 4).

Although culturally shaped imaginaries influence collective behaviour, they are neither an acknowledged part of public discourse nor coterminous with implicit or covert culture. They are imaginary in a double sense: 'they exist by virtue of representation or implicit understandings, even when they acquire immense institutional force; and they are the

[1] For an overview of the intellectual history and contemporary uses of the imaginary in anthropology, see Strauss (2006). Despite their frequent references to the imaginary, contemporary anthropologists have been less concerned with imaginative processes than with the product of the imagination.

means by which individuals understand their identities and their place in the world (Gaonkar 2002, 4). While they are alienating when they take on an institutional(ized) life of their own (e.g. in religion or politics), in the end the agents who imagine are individuals, not societies. A given group of people can participate in shared practices and can be exposed to discourses and symbols that evoke conflicting meanings, but individuals' subjectivities are not completely expressed by collective discourses and have to be understood in their particularity. The distinction between actuality and possibility is central to most approaches of the imagination. Yet, imagination is not mere utopia; imagination is what is 'realizable'. According to this perspective, identity is to be understood less in terms of geography, nation, ethnicity and culture, than in terms of how people dream—Appadurai's (1996) concepts of 'imagined worlds' and 'possible lives'.

The notion of the imaginary draws on Lacan's (1977, 1-7) mirror phase in human development, when a child sees its own reflection as Other. This confused identification permits the appropriation of certain critical and valuable aspects of the Other as an essential part of the Self. Not surprisingly, many collective imaginaries are structured by dichotomies—sometimes difficult to discern in practice—that construct the world in often paradigmatically linked binominals: nature—culture, here—there, male—female, inside—outside, local—global (cf. Durand 1999). The role of the imagination, acknowledged as a social practice, is of crucial importance to understand the local production of meaning in an increasingly globalized world (Weiss 2002). The psyche's propensity to produce imaginations is the primary fact; economy and politics provide triggering mechanisms, assisting in bringing idiosyncratic images together in socially acceptable formulas, but remaining secondary facts when studying the socio-cultural production of imaginaries. As will become clear below, this is clearly the case in the context of voluntary boundary- crossing mobilities.

Tourism and the Imaging of Immobility

He that travels in theory has no inconveniences; he has shade and sunshine at his disposal, and wherever he alights finds tables of plenty and looks of gaiety. These ideas are indulged till the day of departure arrives, the chaise is called, and the progress of happiness begins. A few miles teach him the fallacies of imagination. The road is dusty, the air is sultry, the horses are sluggish, and the postilion brutal. He longs for the time of dinner that he may eat and rest. The inn is crowded, his orders are neglected, and nothing remains but that he devour in haste what the cook has spoiled, and drive on in quest of better entertainment. He finds at night a more commodious house, but the best is always worse than he expected.
Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784)

It is not difficult to see that global tourism includes huge movements of people (tourists as well as tourism workers), capital (investments and tourist dollars), technologies of travel, and the circulation of closely related tourism media and imaginaries. In tourism studies, paradoxically, the tendency has been to conceive of places (and, by consequence, their inhabitants) as defined by immobility and travel as something that happens in a sort of non-place between them (Minca and Oakes 2006). Even though some authors hint at the mobility of locals living and working in tourist spaces, others seem to silently reinforce the false binary between the ephemeral roles of mobile tourists and place-bound locals. This is particularly the case when thinking of international tourism in developing countries. While tourism is a moving and mobile phenomenon that has helped tear down certain borders, it has erected new boundaries too. Undeniably, international tourism is the quintessential world-making business of difference projection and the interpretive vehicle of 'Othering' par excellence. Destinations worldwide try to maintain, or increase, a distinctive local identity while at the same time undergoing homogenizing global influences. Marketers borrow from traditional ethnology an ontological and essentialist vision of 'exotic' cultures, conceived as static entities with clearly defined characteristics. Ideas of old-style colonial anthropology—objectifying, reifying, homogenizing, and naturalizing peoples—are widely used by tourismified communities and societies, staking their claims of identity and cultural belonging on strong notions of place and locality.

My research on local tour guides in Yogyakarta, Indonesia and Arusha, Tanzania illustrates some of the dynamics at play (Salazar 2010a).[1] The qualifier 'local' does not necessarily imply that tour guides are natives of the place where they operate (although they are habitually perceived as such by foreign tourists). Many of the guides operating in Yogyakarta and Arusha were born and raised in the area but some have roots in other parts of the respective countries. Oftentimes, they migrated from their native villages to the city to study or look for a job and settled down. As guides, they quickly learned which role to play in the international tourism game. One could argue that local guides are operating and positioned in the liminal space between mobile people (foreign tourists) and those who are imagined as immobile (locals). The more locals are perceived to be immobile—true 'natives' (born in the place where they live) —the more they must be 'authentic', so the stereotypical tourism thinking goes. This linkage between immobility and authenticity in tourism fits the above-mentioned general description of mobility as the tendency to change

[1] I carried out fieldwork over a period of 25 months, 14 months of which I was in Indonesia (July-August 2003, January-December 2006) and 11 months in Tanzania (June-August 2004, January-August 2007). In Indonesia, the research took place in the Javanese Special Province of Yogyakarta; in Tanzania in the northern Arusha Region.

easily or quickly. Knowing perfectly well that in many developing countries the guide, as much as the sights seen, are part of the attraction, successful guides are projecting themselves into (immobile) 'local' roles (Salazar 2005; Salazar 2006). This makes them complicit in the perpetuation of biased global tourism imaginaries as well as in the construction of (re)created 'local' identities and traditions.

International tourism marketing might well represent the world as 'borderless', in reality travel for leisure is heavily regulated and monitored on local, national, regional, and global levels. The multiple inequalities entrenched in international tourism between tourists, tourism intermediaries, and locals serve as a reminder that boundaries do not exist naturally but are made in social practices. Divisions can occur along lines of social class, gender, age, ethnicity, race, and nationality (Mowforth and Munt 2008). Such social boundaries are also at play within the various groups of tourism stakeholders. In both Yogyakarta and Arusha, for example, there is a clear gender imbalance in that most guides are male and that it is difficult for women to enter the guiding business. In Yogyakarta, the reason is cultural: traditionally, women were not supposed to have contact with foreigners (Ford and Parker 2008).[1] In Arusha, however, structural constraints prevent women from becoming driver-guides: it is harder for women to be away from home for extended periods of time (due to their caring and nurturing roles) and the existing infrastructure in the visited parks, e.g. dorms and washing facilities, does not accommodate women. In Tanzania, there is also a clear racial divide, with white guides—usually descendants of Europeans or Americans who settled in some part of East of Southern Africa—working for exclusive high-end safari companies and earning up to ten times as much as their black colleagues.

Apart from these imposed limitations, guides themselves constantly draw on socio-cultural boundaries between 'self' and 'other', reinforcing similarities and differences respectively. In Yogyakarta, for instance, guides find it inconceivable that foreign tourists do not realize Bali is not a separate country but belongs to Indonesia—a state of affairs blamed on the Balinese. Even though the province's tourism is greatly dependent on Bali, for proud Javanese guides it is important to inform their clients that Indonesia encompasses so much more than one exoticized and eroticized island. A couple of guides told me they

[1] In Indonesia, women generally engage in the kinds of labour that are understood to be more feminine and aligned with the domestic sphere, while men tend to monopolize work that is thought to be more dangerous, to require greater physical strength or to involve greater spatial and temporal mobility. Bennett (2008) recently explored the gap between popular tourism imaginaries of Lombok and women's actual participation in it, resisting both the romanticization and the victimization of women working in tourism. By privileging the women's own interpretations of their desires, she illustrates how their experiences and opportunities are linked with but not wholly determined by their employment.

are upset every time it becomes evident that their clients from countries such as Russia or South Korea have only heard about Bali, never about Java. The Balinese in general are reprimanded publicly for having commoditized and Westernized their culture, whereas the Balinese guides in particular are accused of being far too shopping-minded and money-oriented, selling everything imaginable to foreign visitors. In other words, their work in tourism stimulates local guides in Yogyakarta to draw clear boundaries between Javanese and Balinese culture and people instead of stressing their shared Indonesian identity.

The (re)construction of local culture for tourists (and the misrepresentation of the complexities of rural societies) is clearly visible in village tours around Yogyakarta (Salazar 2005). These are not about how the local is currently being lived and internalized by villagers. Rather, it gives tourists exactly what they want: a mythologized, nostalgic version of pre-modern village life. Because tourists want to experience such imagined local life, guides prefer to show them those rice fields were the planting still happens in a traditional way, without the use of modern machinery. Tours are organized by horse cart or bicycle (not mountain bikes, but those resembling the models imported by the Dutch during colonial times) rather than by car or scooter (the most common means of transport on Java). Guides also facilitate the experiential tourist experience , which includes not only seeing, but also doing and feeling things, by themselves blending in with the village life that is on display. For instance, during the tours some of the guides wear a traditional conical straw hat that also the villagers working in the fields wear (attire guides would never wear when they are not guiding). They might take their cell phones and other technological gadgets with them while guiding, but will use them mostly in unguarded moments, when the tourists are engaged in activities that do not require their attention. These and other signs of social indexicality help guides cleverly portray themselves as more 'local' (and, by association, immobile) than they really are. In addition, guides will seldom mention their own travel experience abroad or the fact that, during the tourist low season, some of them become seasonal migrants who provide cheap labour on cruise ships or in large hotels in Europe or the USA.

Migration and the Imagining of Mobility

There are no Gardens of Eden on earth, no single locales that can provide for all human needs. Mobility—residential, logistical, long-term, and migration—was the first means humans used to overcome this problem.
Robert Kelly (1992, 60)

The imagined immobility of pre-modern people from developing countries that is being played out in tourism products and performances catering for Western clients (see above) goes hand in hand with imaginaries of migration to the modern 'West'.[1] Global news media regularly report about the thousands of migrants trying to make the journey to Western countries each year as illegal migrants—risking people smugglers, deserts, sea crossings and the possibility of being sent home, all for the dream of a better life. Mobility imaginaries are also shared by large parts of the Tanzanian and Indonesian population (Lado 2005; Prinz 2005; Salazar 2010b; Schlehe and Kutanegara 2006; Williams 2007). The West is a dream, an act of imagination and an aspiration. For its imaginative features it is not only socially and economically appealing, but also fascinating because it points to a utopia, to a product of fantasy. The mere dream of migrating sometimes works like a kind of opium; reality is no longer confronted and less people actually undertake concrete steps to migrate. Imaginaries of mobility can be used as a rhetorical resource to counter the idiom of failure, declension and demise encountered at home. For some, the creative construction of this fantasy is one important factor leading them to even accept long-term unemployment as they anticipate an eventual opportunity to journey abroad.

Especially for young people, the consumption of televised fantasies of the West facilitates the imaginative construction of overseas migration as a solution to all their problems. It allows for 'skipping one or several steps' (Ludl 2008), various obstacles and efforts, but also risks. They think of migration not merely as an economic promotion but also as a specific strategy of upward cosmopolitan mobility, conferring an extraordinary status in their home village or town. Youngsters share rumours about how returnee migrants come back refined, sophisticated and educated, and always well dressed. The new authority and cosmopolitan identity acquired through the experience abroad has a huge effect on the migration imaginary: Here things are bad, there things are better (at least so it seems). The West does not merely stands for a better education and more money; it also means fame, victory, respect and admiration. Young people have a strong desire to belong to this fantastic cosmopolis, to that promising world out there, the imaginary world they know from popular entertainment media and information from and about the diaspora (Basch et al. 1994).

In Indonesia, the yearly placement of hundreds of thousands of people overseas (mostly westwards but not to the 'West') has reshaped communities not only in migrant

[1] 'The West' refers here to a widespread imaginary, not to a specific geographic location with homogeneous cultural traits and historical background.

workers' provinces of origin, but in the borderland communities through which many of them pass on their way to and from overseas. Many of these migrants are women. For them, transnational labour migration (mostly as domestic workers) enables them to negotiate and cross their socio-cultural boundaries and recreate their identities. It is good that this is increasingly researched (e.g. Ford and Parker 2008; Silvey 2000) because in Indonesia 'women's agency in relation to mobility is under-theorized, as it is assumed to be a product of their structural class position and the forces of globalization, thus the women's voice, identity and meanings of mobility are commonly missing in migration research' (Williams 2007, 37). Contrary to the common imaginary of women's immobility in Muslim societies, these studies illustrate that women do not passively accept conservative notions of restricted boundary-crossing mobility for women.

While Indonesians and Tanzanians imagine many places abroad as preferable to their own country in terms of economics, they also offer critiques that illustrate that overseas migration is best envisioned as a temporary endeavour, undertaken mainly to improve one's life at home. In practice, the discourse of transnational mobility often remains just that, a discourse. While dreaming of migration is very important for young people's day-to-day life, travel abroad will not be a reality for most. Besides, the majority now doubts that the greater part of fellow citizens outside the country stand good chances to get a job with decent working conditions. Somehow, people start acknowledging that the spaces of marginality they are trying to escape will reappear abroad, in the peripheries of cosmopolitan towns, in the social marginality most migrants from developing countries are doomed to live and work. In earlier times, people may have greatly over-estimated the impact of migration and conceptualized these in terms of their worldview and expectations for their future. Nowadays, things seem to have changed.[1]

Many returnees have a clear message for their fellow citizens who contemplate making the big move. Binadamu, for example, migrated to the USA in the hope of realizing the American dream. It all turned out very different from what he had expected. Like many others of his age, once he had finished secondary school in Tanzania, he wanted to go to the USA. In his words: 'I had watched MTV and wanted to become like them'. The little money he had saved was quickly lost in university tuition fees and he had to take two or even three jobs to make ends meet. When visiting other country mates, he realized that he was not alone in this situation: 'On the phone they always sounded very positive but when

[1] This section of the chapter is mainly based on additional fieldwork on migration in Jakarta and Bali (January 2009), Dar es Salaam and Arusha (March 2009) and Brussels (throughout 2009).

visiting them I could see how miserably they live... The story they tell to those back home is that the U.S. is good, the economy is good, and the system is good. What they don't tell is that you're like a third class citizen'. To those who think life in 'the West' is great, Binadamu has a simple answer ready: 'That will not be YOUR life'. His experience has made him realize that life at home is better, but that you need a working spirit, an insight confirmed by Yani, a promising young Indonesian artist who spent some time in Europe: 'People think life abroad is easy, but it's not, it's difficult. You need to have a mission and a purpose... What I learned there [in the U.K.] is to toil, work like a donkey and live like a queen'.

Youngsters these days seem better informed and have a more critical mindset than before. John, a young Tanzanian who has no personal migration experience, tells me:

> When at secondary school, we all imagined to migrate when finished. I had an uncle in the U.K. and cousins in California, Sweden and Italy. But few made their dreams come true... Maybe there's too much pressure abroad and when you return home people of your age have built up their lives and you have nothing... People generalize too much from popular culture, but television doesn't show real life... Take the example of 50 Cent [American rapper] who made money doing illegal things.

Yanto, an Indonesian who is doing an internship at a prestigious consultancy company in Brussels, follows the same line of thinking:

> Young people back home are increasingly realizing that it's not all good. In the media, there are now a lot of negative stories. This is very different from the 1990s, when going to the U.K. and the U.S. was seen as hip. The mindset has shifted... now more people are considering setting up a small business at home.

The relevance of such testimonies lies in the very images and categories that are used by people to describe, and situate themselves within, changing social worlds (cf. Koning 2005). They reaffirm that all (im)mobilities are 'imaginatively crafted through particular cultural lenses' (Sanders 2001, 27). The change in thinking is also reflected in the messages spread around by the increasing number of locally produced cultural productions, which are very influential in shaping imaginaries, especially among young people (Salazar 2010b).

Despite some exceptions, the predominant migration imaginaries remain remarkably centred on the 'West' as the preferred locus to accrue symbolic capital and cosmopolitan

status. In other words, the mainstream imaginary of mobility, of belonging to a global cosmopolis, has to be qualified because it is clearly directional. Some of the people I interviewed suggest there is a growing category of young people, mainly informed by migration narratives and rumours from returnees and new entertainment media representations, who do not really want to go abroad, but merely dream about the possibility. Yet, the Obama-mania of 2007–2008 (which hit Indonesia and Tanzania as much as it did many other parts of the world) shows that drawing such a conclusion might be precarious. It is not unlikely to suspect that Obama's election as President of the United States reinvigorated the imaginary that the American dream can also be realized by new migrants: 'Yes we can!'.

Dreams of Cosmopolitanism

I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world.
Socrates (469-399 BCE)

There are interesting connections between imaginaries of immobility (driving Western tourists) and imaginaries of mobility (stimulating migration to the West). In the case of the tour guides I studied, the more 'mobile' they are—having travelled physically or in their imagination—the better they are at representing and framing the globalized lifeworld around them and themselves as distinctively 'local' (which is what tourists expect them to do). However, there is more at stake than a mere replication of tourism imaginaries of local immobility. While on the discursive level, local guides are mechanically (re)producing globally dominant ideas of tourism (im)mobilities, on the metadiscursive level they seem to be conveying a surprisingly dissonant message (cf. Urban 2001). There are many instances during guided tours where shifts of role alignment occur and the common asymmetry between guides and tourists is blurred or temporarily interrupted. Two different logics are at work simultaneously: a logic of differentiation that creates differences and divisions, and a logic of equivalence that subverts existing differences and divisions. In some instances, guides find creative ways to distance themselves from locals and align themselves on the side of the tourists. For example, the dominant global discourse that would tend to treat all Africans as alike and the guides in Arusha as full members of local communities, can be subverted. Many Tanzanian guides prefer to align themselves on the 'us-tourist' side of the us—them binary, by distancing themselves from the local people encountered during a trip. This is often achieved through the subtle use of demonstrative and personal pronouns, or temporal and spatial expressions.

On the way to a village market nearby Arusha, one guide told his group of European tourists: 'We will be able to meet the local people at the market place. You can say *habari*, so you can become popular suddenly, and they can respect you because you greet them in their language'. This guide performatively resists stereotyping by not telling his clients he is very much a 'local', often frequenting the market they are about to visit to buy his groceries. Commenting on how the Maasai sing and dance, another guide told his American party: 'I don't know how they do it!' The guide himself is actually half Maasai (from his mother's side), but prefers not to be identified as such. While some in Arusha find it financially advantageous to play the Maasai for tourists, others will do everything they can to distinguish themselves from the Maasai. On a cultural tour in a Meru village, the Meru guide stresses that 'the Maasai are the ones that wear blankets. The Meru don't wear blankets'. The guide makes it clear to his international guests that his ethnic group is not to be confused with the Maasai. His comments indicate he knows many foreigners think all Tanzanians are Maasai, but also serve to denigrate the latter by depicting them as backwards and primitive: 'Today we are more developed compared to the other tribes. We are more transitioned compared to the Maasai. The Maasai are more primitive compared to us. We adapted quicker'.

Local guides seemingly prefer to position themselves as different from the represented immobile locals and more similar to their mobile foreign clients in a bid to enhance their own status of cosmopolitans and to gain symbolic capital, using their privileged contact with foreigners to nourish their utopias of escape from the harsh local life. The guided tour is the setting where much of the guide's cosmopolitan capital is accrued and tacitly used to better serve international tourists. As discussed above, the explicit display of their cosmopolitan aspirations and lifestyle needs to happen elsewhere. They can brag to their relatives, friends, and colleagues about how much they are up-to-date with trends in global popular culture and modern technology. Bringing too much of this into the encounter with Western tourists, however, would disrupt the magic of the tour.[1]

Not many local guides have had the opportunity to travel abroad. However, guides do not physically need to wander around the world to develop a cosmopolitan attitude (although most would love to if they had the financial means); the world simply comes to them. Through personal contacts with tourists, other foreigners, and the mass media, they can build up their knowledge of foreign experiences, ways of life, and social conditions.

[1] The dynamics with Asian tourists is markedly different (see Salazar 2008), but a comparative discussion of this falls outside the scope of this chapter.

This gives the traditional idea of cosmopolitanism a new meaning (Salazar 2010c). Their profile includes transcultural identifications and aspirations and an interest in cultural difference. The cultural capital accumulated from their knowledge of foreigners and foreign countries is a constitutive part of their identity. As an added bonus, this cosmopolitan knowledge also gives them a broader perspective on their own culture. In the words of Urban, 'to understand your own culture, immerse yourself, for a time, at least, in another' (2001, 189). Cosmopolitan comprehension is vital to their work and resembles that of stereotypical cosmopolites, experienced travellers. The ability to make transcultural comparisons gives guides a comparative advantage over those who are less familiar with foreign frames of reference.

Cosmopolitan tour guides often use transcultural frames of interpretation to translate the perceived strangeness of their own culture into an idiom familiar to the tourists, finding connections between what is being experienced and what tourists already know. In order to do this successfully, they need to build up their cross-cultural knowledge. Take these examples, all from a French-language tour of the Sultan's Palace with a young Swiss couple. The accompanying senior guide is an alumnus of a French-language department at one of Yogyakarta's major universities. Commenting upon the Sultan's servants: 'They wear a dagger, called *keris*. The keris is not used as a weapon; it's not only for the guardians of the palace. It's for those who have served over ten years, as a promotional gift and symbol of loyalty… a Rolex!' These Swiss luxury wristwatches were typically given in the Western world to employers who had worked years for the same company—a symbol of labour immobility so you will. Movement itself is also used as a shared frame of reference. From the same tour: 'All the servants are barefoot. That's not good when it's really hot. They become TGV's à la Javanaise' and 'They don't retire. Even if they are old, they work; but, no problem, in general they do the RATP. Do you know RATP? It's *reste assis, t'es photographié* (F; remain seated, you are being photographed)'. TGV of course refers to France's well-known high-speed rail service, while RATP stands for Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens, the major transit operator responsible for public transportation in Paris and its environs.

It should come as no surprise that the guides' display of transcultural knowledge often stays at the metadiscursive level. This is to avoid tensions because tourists exactly expect the opposite behaviour, granting guides their authority based on their expressions of nativeness. No matter how hard they try to be cosmopolitan (mobile on an imaginative level), tourists continue seeing them as 'local'.[1]

[1] Anthropologists can undergo an opposite fate. During fieldwork, some try to 'go native' but most realize it is virtually impossible to 'become native' and that they will always remain neither a total insider nor a complete outsider.

Where to Go from Here?

Mobility has become an evocative keyword for the twenty-first century and a powerful discourse that creates its own effects and contexts.
Kevin Hannam et al. (2006, 1)

How to study, conceptualize and understand (im)mobility without reinventing the wheel? Academic scholarship should not fail to critically analyse the relations and differences between movements. People are moving all the time but not all movements are equally meaningful and life-shaping. As this chapter has illustrated, human mobility—be it physical or imaginative—is moulded by personal and cultural knowledge, skill, technological means, and positions within larger socio-cultural networks. To understand mobility and circulation, we need to pay attention to immobility, to the structures that facilitate certain movements and impede others (Tsing 2005). Mobilities and enclosures involve unequal rights and powers, demanding precision about the political implications of movements of various sorts (Cunningham and Heyman 2004). Paradoxically, focusing on boundaries requires border-crossing interdisciplinary approaches, bringing together geographers, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, literary scholars and legal experts.

Contemporary anthropology is well equipped to study (im)mobilities. In several ways, anthropology is betwixt and between, 'between theory and practice, general and particular, global and local, historical sweep and present fixation, academic understanding and activism or advocacy' (Knauft 2006, 425). This liminal positioning is more attuned to the complex reality in which we live than the boundary-driven thinking that is so common in other disciplines. This in-betweenness, with constant methodological and theoretical boundary crossings, is the most fruitful level of grounded ethnographic analysis. Anthropology can contribute to the current mobility debate by ethnographically detailing how human mobility is a contested ideological construct involving much more than mere physical movement (Salazar 2010d). It can, for instance, assess how imaginary activities and social relations concerning mobility are materialized, enacted and inculcated. Such ethnographies are always in the making, never finished. An anthropology of imaginaries—narratives and ideas that depend on the creation of the otherness of people's own pasts as well as of the Other—reveals how local life worlds are mobile: always negotiated, contested and constantly under transformation.

The preliminary findings of my ongoing research on tourism and migration show in which ways widespread imaginaries and personal imaginings about boundary-crossing

human mobility are interconnected but also contradicting each other. The case of Indonesian and Tanzanian tour guides points to the ironies involved; the more 'mobile' guides are—having travelled physically or in their imagination—the better they are at representing and framing the globalized lifeworld around them and themselves as distinctively 'local' (which is what tourists expect them to do). Paradoxically, their dreams of moving (geographically) forward and (socially) upward—becoming more cosmopolitan (and more modern and Western) —can only materialize if they represent to tourists the lifeworld in which they live as developing little or not at all, as immobile in space and time. They need to constantly (mis)translate culture and (re)negotiate positions and imaginaries. To avoid too much friction, guides must learn to position themselves in a transitional or liminal space that facilitates shifting between frames. One moment they are playing the immobile native (forced to be looking culturally inwards), and other moments they are distancing themselves from the locals (dreaming of roaming the wide world out there).

The guides' dreams of mobility tie in neatly with the more widespread imaginaries of migration in their respective countries. For Indonesians and Tanzanians, such imaginaries serve as an essentially creative act that facilitates their ability to move beyond existing structural imbalances of power and economic constraints. Despite individual creative efforts, which reveal an evident local agency, the opening of wider horizons and the multiplication of imagined and fascinating life possibilities also makes exclusion and frustration increasingly evident. On the one hand, people witness the widening of their horizons, to new stimuli for the imagination; on the other they suffer from a chronic lack of means (Weiss 2002). The findings discussed in this chapter, however, suggest that predominant migration imaginaries can quickly change. Most importantly, all forms and types of mobility are deeply embedded in wider socio-economic structures and, thus, mobility needs to be analysed in the specific context in which it occurs. Migration, for instance, clearly has an instrumental role, but one which is guided by socio-cultural imaginaries more than economic considerations as such. Mobility imaginaries—whether true or false, or somewhere in between—have true enough effects in the real world. All peoples and places are socio-culturally constructed as mixtures of the real and the imaginary. While the set of meanings of imaginaries is conceptualized in symbolic languages, these meanings are materialized and become real in all sorts of spatial and social practices. Maybe imaginaries are so widespread and popular because they give people at least some feeling of control (imaginative mobility) in a world where they increasingly feel controlled (immobile).

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